1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

were taken from the fingers, and the coins were removed and redistributed to those who had given them. The people told me that when the body was swung over the fire, the dead person went to Amnòdr with all the ornaments and objects then on the bier, and that the removal of the things afterwards would not deprive the dead person of their use in the next world.

It would seem as if this ceremony of swinging the body over the fire was directly connected with the removal of the objects of value. The swinging over the fire would be symbolic of its destruction by fire, and this symbolic burning has the great advantage that the objects of value are not consumed and are available for use another time.

This is probably the real explanation of the ceremony, but it is not the explanation given by the Todas themselves. They say that long ago, about 400 years, a man supposed to be dead was put on the funeral pyre, and, revived by the heat, he was found to be alive and was able to walk away from the funeral place. In consequence of this the rule was made that the body shall always be swung three times over the fire before it is finally placed thereon. I could not discover the significance of the small wooden framework held under the body. Its appearance suggests that it is a miniature bier.

The objects of value having been removed, the body is now burnt. Formerly it was put on the pyre face downwards, and in the accounts of funerals given by Marshall[1] and Walhouse[2] thirty years ago, this was done, but it is no longer the custom, and in recent funerals attended by Mr. Thurston and myself the body was put on the fire with the face upwards. I was told that Teikirzi ordained that the body should be consumed face downwards, and it was believed that if this were not done, the dead person would have to make the journey to Amnòdr backwards. This seems to imply that the world of Amnòdr is below this world and that the dead person should be burnt in such a way that his face is set towards his future abode.

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, iii. 274.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

adornment of the body. Each relative gives a waist-string called *pennar*, made of black and white thread, which is put round the body of the corpse. That given by a *manmokh* is exceptionally honoured in that it is tied round the body inside the mantle together with that given by the son of the deceased, those given by other relatives being put outside the mantle.

Many of the necessaries for the funerals are provided by the Kotas. The part they take as the musicians has been already mentioned. In addition they provide for the first funeral the cloak (*putkuli*) in which the body is wrapped, and grain (*patm* or *samai*) to the amount of five to ten *kwa*. They give one or two rupees towards the expenses, and if they should have no grain their contribution of money is increased.

At the *marvainolkedr* their contributions are more extensive. They provide the *putkuli*, together with a sum of eight annas for the decoration of the cloak by the Toda women. They give two to five rupees towards the general expenses and provide the bow and arrow, basket (*tek*), knife (*kafkati*), and the sieve called *kudshmurn*. The Kotas receive at each funeral the bodies of the slaughtered buffaloes, and are also usually given food. The method by which these contributions from the Kotas to the Todas are regulated will be considered in Chapter XXVII.

Amnòdr

Amnòdr[1] is the other world of the Todas to which the dead go. It lies to the west and is lighted by the same sun as this world. The sun goes there when it sinks to the west so that when it is dark on the Nilgiris it is light in Amnòdr, and when it is dark in Amnòdr it is light on the Nilgiris. When Kwoto tied down the sun it was dark in both worlds and the people of Amnòdr complained (see p. 206) and joined with those of this world in the request that the sun should be restored to its proper place. Amnòdr is considered to be below this world,

[1] This may possibly be the world of Yama, the Todas rarely, if ever, using the the letter y. The word was often pronounced Amanòdr.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

772 and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be
775 burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

775 Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *asaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *oviðnikârr*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Astronomical Ideas

772 821 We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

The Sun

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

The Moon

The new moon is called *mut* and the full moon *nèrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

772 773 821 The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mûrs*, the hare.[1] The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.[2]

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

[1] In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

[2] For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

found honey, while the other found none. The man who found the honey put it into a dairy vessel called *pun*, which he hid in a tree, and when he met the other did not tell him of his good fortune. After a time the *pun* containing honey which had been put in the tree suddenly broke, and the vessel became a snake, while the honey became the Paikara river. The snake ran after the man who had hidden the honey, and when the man saw the snake coming after him, he ran away. As he was being pursued, a hare came between the man and the snake. Then the man threw his cloak over the hare and hid himself, and the snake ran after the hare. The hare ran to the sky followed by the snake, and they came near the sun, which said, "Don't come near me because I am very hot. Go to the moon!" So the hare went to the moon, and the moon said, "Do not be afraid; I will protect you till the end of the world." The snake still goes sometimes to catch the hare in the moon, and when he goes the moon becomes dark and some people fire guns and send up rockets and the Todas shout. When it is known that there is going to be an eclipse the Todas abstain from food, and when they see the moon being eclipsed they shout out.

I was told that there was another incident of the story connected with shooting stars, but I was unable to obtain an account of it.

PLANETS

The Todas know Venus, which they call *Pili*, and they also speak of the "morning star."

CONSTELLATIONS AND STARS

The Todas have names for several stars or constellations. The Pleiades are called *Kadsht* and the constellation is believed to be composed of six stars.

Another heavenly body which I could not identify is called *Keirt*. *Keirt* has already been mentioned in Chap. XIV., and it is the evil influence of this body which is chiefly feared after

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

772 821 childbirth. It is said to be a star which is never present in the same part of the sky as *Kadsht*. The reason for this is that once *Keirt* and *Kadsht* fought together. *Kadsht* had six men and *Keirt* only one. *Keirt* broke the leg of one of the six men, so that now there are five stars close together in the Pleiades and one lags behind. On account of this quarrel Swami ruled that *Kadsht* and *Keirt* must never be together, but that when *Kadsht* is on one side of the sky, *Keirt* must always be on the other.

When talking about *Keirt* in connexion with the ceremony of going to the seclusion-hut, it was said that *Keirt* was near the sun and that the sun was dangerous because *Keirt* was near it. It seemed that *Keirt* was always near the sun, which led me to suspect at first that it was Venus. It was quite clear, however, that this was not so. No one could show me *Keirt*, nor was anyone clear as to the part of the sky in which it was to be seen at any time in the night, and I think it most probable that this mysterious inhabitant of the sky is not a star at all, but a being allied to the Hindu *Ketu*. On the other hand, at a funeral attended by Samuel, the setting of *Kadsht* and the appearance of *Keirt* was taken as the sign that the proceedings of the *asaramkedr* might begin, [177] which looks as if *Keirt* was a real heavenly body. I think it is most probable that the whole idea of the injurious influence of *Keirt* is borrowed from the Badagas, and, if this is the case, the Toda word is probably merely an altered form of *Ketu*. I was told that *Keirt* was a Badaga word and that the Badagas feared its influence on women after childbirth.

A group of stars called *Pòdimin*, or porcupine star, corresponds to the stars in the sword of Orion. They are regarded as a porcupine from which the three stars of the belt are trying to escape.

A constellation of seven stars is called *Katikálmin*. From the description it appeared to be the Great Bear. This constellation was not visible, but when I made a drawing of its seven chief stars, it was at once recognised as *Katikálmin*.

A single star called *Ishtkati* is almost certainly Sirius.

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A Single Star called ISHTKATI is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishtkati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishtkati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*."

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A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tûdrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably γ and ϵ Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky.

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Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tûdrval*, and so one star is called *tûdrvalmokh*. The *tûdrval* still sings "*Kudursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tûdrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas.

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It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

me, that the Pekkans are poor and have few herds, therefore *they have no occasion for a God* to protect them. I see the man now before me shaking his grave head, 'Aha, they don't want a God.'

'First divest your mind of cant,' said Dr. Johnson. The Toda anticipated that sage advice long years ago. What is the *use* of a God if not to protect life and property? And no property, no God! I dwell on this phase of the primitive mind, for it will liberate us much from the necessity for searching for evidences of religious worship in the customs, whose description I am entering upon.

The sum of real Toda belief is, that they were born, they and their cattle, somehow—rose out of the earth. When they die they go to amnôr,[4] which is a world exactly like this; whither their buffalos join them, to supply milk as in this state—*voilà tout.* They look on this migration from the nomad point of view: but do not appear to be quite clear whether they and their cattle go to amnôr in the body or the spirit. Some practical difficulties appear to present themselves, to whichever belief they bend. The abstruseness of the question is acknowledged. They are satisfied that they *do* get there, and don't care to speculate and reopen a matter which has so long and so satisfactorily been settled!

A good opportunity presenting itself, in a visit with which I was favoured by an important religious character, I asked him where amnôr was situate. He did not appear surprised at the question, or in a moment's doubt as to the locality. Looking about him in the sky as if to ascertain the cardinal points of the compass; as all Orientals do; who living without clocks or barometers, read the signs in the heavens for guidance

[4] Amnôr, amnâr, ômunâr = *the next world.*
Nâr or nâdu = *district, country.* This is Tamil.
Ôma is a difficulty. Yaman is the '*God of death.*'
It seems to be = avan, which in Tamil = *there*, and is sometimes used for *the other world.* In Tamil, ammai = *the next state* or *stage in transmigration.* [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XII.

and information, he pointed direct to the west. 'Where the sun goes down'[1] he said. The quiet certainty with which he spoke, then ceased to speak, was impressive, leaving a feeling of sadness as from the vibrations of an air just played, or of 'a tale that is told;' to think that the place of their future residence—where Toda shall, without fail, meet Toda—was known to them; that this man in his simple belief should be so clear on a subject which has engaged the religious mind of refined nations for ages in vain.

The Toda makes use of the word pâpum for sin, but I more than doubt if he has any word for hell. In reality neither one nor the other subject engages his attention. What has already been described, is his deep-grounded belief: any little matters, as sin and punishment, may be looked on as after-growths. He has also Gods—a little g should be sufficient for them—presiding over certain hills and villages, but he seems to know nothing about them. Spirits and ghosts—bhût—devilry and witchcraft—pilli—also occupy a position in his beliefs. But the Todas are not communicative on these or indeed on any subject connected with religion or the unseen. Most probably they have but little to tell; and superstitious dread of the invisible or half-known, prompts them to keep that little, dark.

A reference to the vocabulary, will show that most words connected with what is commonly termed religion, are almost pure Sanskrit: whilst those relating to the extraordinarily simple practices in course of narration, are either much corrupted Sanskrit, or are free of Âryan influence. From these facts I deduce the possibility that prior to their migration into India, the Âryas of that era, when probably of a somewhat similar stage of culture to the Todas, may have influenced their rudimental religious proclivities. But that any ideas they now possess on religious subjects have come to them quite in modern times from Brahmanical sources; through

[1] See note 2 of Chapter V.